

Likewise, the good anatomical knowledge of the Hottentots can be better portrayed only after the biological basis has been worked out.

2. Astronomy

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From childhood on the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way on his own out on the range. As a child he orients himself by means of close, familiar things like groups of bushes, trees, and rock formations. Later, when he undertakes longer migrations with his family in search of pasturage, he is compelled by the lack of rain in the land to help himself along from one water hole to the next. His migrations thus are composed of treks, of which each one has as its daily goal a relatively nearby spot that is determined by local conditions. Therefore the herder does not need to seek for his journey any points of orientation in the sky except the sun.

a) The starry sky therefore is little known to the Hottentot. It is an open question whether it was always this way or whether also in this field traditions have paled with the general decline of folk character.

α) The sun, so-res, gives the Hottentot, too, his points of orientation for distinguishing the points of the compass: the east is called *soresta//hai-//kʷāb, that is, "the side on which the sun rises." The west is *soresta//pa-//kʷāb, "the side on which the sun sets."

I learned a common designation for north and south: *soresʰō-!nab; for if one looks in one of these directions, the sun shines upon (!na) one's cheek (ʰōb). I learned the words !kya-bagab and /aba-s only as designations for the winds from the south and the north; in other parts (57) of

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoi. Berlin, 1889.

the country they may serve also for the designation of the abstract directions. But I consider this to be a later extension of the terms. Close contact with the Hottentots demonstrates how remote they are from all abstract concepts if the senses alone suffice. The sun itself, its rising and setting, the wind which blows from here or from there, the place to which they previously wandered--these are the elements of their geographical knowledge, and they suffice for mutual comprehension.

[366] The moon will be treated in connection with time calculation.

278 SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

841 not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be
 784 /*khai* /*na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things;
 783 and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore
 when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of
 ● [823] cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition.
 If the woman is /*khai* /*na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have
 to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this
 happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would
 be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.¹

881 A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the
 262 girls' puberty rites among the inland Nama. During her seclusion,
 he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must
 come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during
 the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless.
 But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers,
 and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period,
 [789] lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he
 adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed
 from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill
 [757] them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as
 medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.²

881 Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we
 184 have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown
 by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient
 usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one
 [302] custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed:
 this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first
 symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the
 [515] ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the
 body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the
 [262] continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk
 diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."³

841 Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots,
 783 makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's
 first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating
 women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example,
 might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods,
 or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have
 to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

¹ *Ibid.*, 125.² "The Nama," 136.³ *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.
 753 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
 776 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman,
 782 give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok,
 of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry
 to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water,
 and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you
 had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
 776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the
 rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."¹
 821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company
 of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering
 above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards
 the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country
 ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab
 in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers.
 You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered
 by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered,
 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the
 morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country,
 we say: *Tusib ka /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.' " *Tusib*,
 Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better,
 |*Nanub*. "Tu means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver,
 or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is,
 the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth." ²

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
 776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
 773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
 796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who
 depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves
 and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important
 religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an
 adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when
 water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their
 ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
 751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
 784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

¹ "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 522.

² Op. cit., 64, 139.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of /*nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.¹

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui //Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heisi Edib*, *Heigab*, *Heisab* or *Kabib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *ib*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

¹ Cf. Harnold, "Social Value of Water among the Namans," *passim*; *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui //Goab* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Naman, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui //Goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.¹

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and has dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui //Goab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *//Gamsab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui //Goab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui //Goab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi Eibib's* graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a few bushes," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

¹ Op. cit., 134-5.

755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylvidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the /gai aob is to cure people who have
755 been bewitched.¹ He is considered as in some way connected with the /hei /nun—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the /hei /nun or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.² Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the /gai aob uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
823 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.³ Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

¹ Hensold, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angre Papama*, 39; Wikar, op. cit., 122-3; Schultz, loc. cit.

² The most servicable account is given by Nolin, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutsch. KolZtg.*, iii (1886), 629-30.

³ Hensold, op. cit., 320-1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

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In the same way, the medicines of the /gai aob can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the //a /naip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any /gai medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little /gai sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."¹ Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

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It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the /gai aob has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the /gai aob formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"²; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the /gai aob with these rites.

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Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."³ "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (/gai/gaob), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

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¹ "Social Value of Water," 320.

Op. cit., 23, 24.

² Ibid., 23.

752 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco
 278 juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite
 or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really
 may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white
 [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and faeces
 of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed
 into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is
 also practised by the Hottentots.¹ One of Laidler's informants,
 the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand,
 learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been
 similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin
 with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small
 cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion
 of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later
 his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties,
 and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and
 shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a
 piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the
 size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every
 day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff-
 [754] adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in
 this way are known as /ao/gu aon, snake-bite men, and they treat others
 bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already
 mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and
 clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing
 it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of
 treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *lep* diseases.

278 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great
 789 variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really
 powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,²
 something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not
 act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present
 must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with
 the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me,
 [823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another
 instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere
 Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

¹ Laidler, *op. cit.*, 478-9; Schultze, *loc. cit.*

² "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 510.

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is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanni*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Corydalis Walchii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkleya* sp., powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the same reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, that its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox is given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

STAR LORE AND CALENDAR

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and medicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or less directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the cares of everyday life, there is little trace of organized conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen are, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, and, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of season and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force the attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not discuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives a valuable detailed description.¹

From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies for the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

¹ *Hamaland and Kalahari*, 364-75.

- 823 trees, and rock formations. Later when he goes with his family on longer marches in search of pasture, he is forced owing to the barrenness of the land to seek his way from one waterhole to another. His wanderings consequently consist in treks, each having as its daily goal a spot relatively near by and fixed upon according to local conditions. As a result the Hottentot needs no other points of orientation in the sky apart from the sun, and his knowledge of the stars is therefore very limited.

821 The sun, *sores*, also gives the Hottentot points of control for distinguishing positions of the horizon. The East is named *soresta* 823 //hai /kxab, "the side on which the sun rises," the West *soresta* /ga /kxab, "the side on which the sun sets"; while for North and South there is a common term, *soresax* /nab, since when one faces in either of these directions the sun shines on (/na, in) the cheeks (xob). The names /kxabagab and /abas for the south and north winds respectively are sometimes also used for the abstract points of the horizon, but this Schultze regards as a later transference. The sun itself, how it rises and sets, the wind blowing from here or there, the place to which he formerly wandered—these are the elements of the Hottentot's geographical notions, and they suffice for understanding.¹

821 The moon and its phases are more appropriately discussed in connection with the calendar, in which it plays an extremely important part. Of the stars,² /gamiroti, the Hottentots know most accurately the two planets Venus and Mercury, whose closeness to the sun and regularly-alternating positions in the morning and evening sky make them readily observable. Venus, //khanuz, is also known as "the Forerunner" of the sun, ai/guns, or as *aogwa* //hab, "the star at whose rising men run away" (i.e. from illicit sexual intercourse). Mercury is the Dawn Star, //gos /gamirox, or the star that comes when the udders of the cows are filled again; as an evening star he is not observed. Venus as an evening star is recognized to be the same celestial body as the morning star, and is then called the "Evening Fugitive", /ai /kxoeb, since it does not remain long in the sky. Jupiter is also known, but is sometimes identified with Venus; when, however, he is seen "in the middle of the sky" he is called the "Middle Star", //aegu /gamirob.

The six stars of the belt and sword of Orion are grouped together as the "Zebras", /goregu; δ , ϵ , ζ , are three fugitive zebras against the middle one of which the hunter shoots his arrows θ and η . The

¹ Ibid., 365.² Ibid., 366-9.

Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Ab, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /ous, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáma, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xoris, or Xoribos, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the !gáb or !gás, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garúb, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //góm //gami, the pond, the /ip, or vlei, and the !khowis, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garúb, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the gú //Khausan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoexa !naa. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

* "Geographische Bemerkungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin*. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—63.

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789 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the
 796 real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to
 tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not
 sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the
 north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of
 such rains since the white man came into their country. I have
 given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,*
 and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is
 that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could,
 gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this guniba
 (ap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible
 for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want
 to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with
 the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it
 is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing
 so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

182 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely
 823 important to the Naman, I wish to show that they believe it to
 have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at
 the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the
 society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the power-
 ful protection which society gives them. Thus the social
 character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine
 life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little
 regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold
 significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection
 against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on
 the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are,
 for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to
 suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression
 of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social
 value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial
 customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his
 analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue
 to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Naman.
 Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown writes:
 "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that
 thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may
 be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by
 anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative
 value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being."
 The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the
 necessaries of social life provided for him by others.

* *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 2, 4.

† "The Andaman Islanders," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V.
 p. 264.

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs; and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Naman, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hei /Nûn, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* Ibid., p. 264.

† Ibid., p. 264.

‡ *Forest and Game, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoen*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

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753 the Naman, either themselves, or through the 'Gèi Aogu, the
 774 medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the
 761 people with regard to the dread of the /Hei /Nūn, some people
 not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no
 account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama
 why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the
 thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome
 thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help
 it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the
 sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hei
 /Nūn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid
 of them. When people are alone the /Hei /Nūn come chasing
 them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons
 arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase,
 who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among
 the Zwartboys I found the /Hei /Nūn were very much dreaded,
 and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to
 the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to
 drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further,
 old Christian, a Bondelzwart, told me that often when a man has
 died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the
 sleeper wakes he will say, 'Gán osi, luri 'kóp /gúiba ta go
 mu' (no flesh, a white bone alone I saw). The old people then
 say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of
 them; one of the family will die. Relatives, then, especially near
 relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They
 are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hei /Nūn that
 this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives
 must go through a much longer process of purification which will
 be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have
 seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water.
 The next instance of the protective use of water will make the
 first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Sarés, comes swirling
 through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get
 cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not
 take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact
 statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys,
 the Rooi Natic, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqua-
 land. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar,
 gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the
 people would shout, 'Phu—u, bé re, taés dā hū kun 'kun 'kun
 phu—u' (Phu—u, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go,
 go, phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled
 in its path. This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Top-
 naars, so far as I know, among the Naman, and the other tribes
 say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoi. Of
 its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at
 present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when
 making a solemn address of this kind.

* See p. 521.

The other name for Sarés, the whirlwind, is //Gāuab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gāuab. In the mythology of the people //Gāuab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Nama and other Khoi Khoi tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gāuab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be, //Gāuab is also connected with the /Hei /Nūn, in fact, //Gāunagu in the plural is simply another name for /Hei /Nūn, and old David Zwartkoy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Hei /Nūn were simply //Gāuab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Hei /Nūn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Hei /Nūn or //Gāuab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that those precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Náon, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said: . . .

'Ti //Náoxan 'Hutse, (My ancestors' territory).

//Gāue 'Khoi 'ón te re. (Run nicely to meet me).

Then all would have been well."

eibe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

751 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes
 • 823 place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The
 182 head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the
 pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he
 may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant
 put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection
 of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger
 that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding
 example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile
 /Hei /Nün, and this example makes a little clearer the nature
 of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of
 the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits,
 and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting,
 but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used
 as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society,
 and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on
 a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it
 will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of
 the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the
 ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social
 life

754 The next example is a little different. In the old days, there
 756 were among the Naman !Gèi Abgu, witch doctors, men who could
 823 cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also them-
 selves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them.
 I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and
 it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their
 [99] training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries
 have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the
 witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who
 really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of
 the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul
 might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat
 as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became
 a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop
 was considered in some way connected with the /Hei /Nün, and
 therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could
 impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by
 inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was con-
 tained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could
 scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a
 person of considerable importance in a community, and was
 much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he
 might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it.
 Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either
 by //Gäunab,* or the /Hei /Nün, or by persons somehow in
 contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tswani-//Gom*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Opuntia Namae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //A Inaip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: "A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye huf te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams Ina ni áo !gā tai." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter, p. 419.

823 Sir James Alexander! tells us that the Hottentots of the
 271 Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could
 782 drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he
 speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama.
 "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under
 an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I
 asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was
 from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the
 bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering,
 and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him.
 I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering
 at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for
 water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the
 Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him
 and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.'
 I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never
 seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe
 that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us
 good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a
 wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your
 offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son
 of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros,
 of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But
 I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched
 away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and
 he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have
 died!'

823 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but
 751 Tup is the rain and Tu !Oap is the rain wind, so that we have
 here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found any-
 thing quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but
 we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if
 not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the follow-
 ing. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife
 must go to the water and commence throwing it about the
 ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water
 about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see
 that persons removed from their regular life in the community
 are in great danger from water.

571 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite
 561 stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have
 definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the
 correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their
 own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are,
 first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 1836-7, Vol. II,*
 p. 125.

* *Troni //Gom. p. 77.*

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khard, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

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841 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she
 823 is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful
 married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but
 of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the
 mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip,
 her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself
 seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the
 girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete
 set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron
 with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled
 to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares.
 [272] formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron
 177] must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each
 thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and
 together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart
 from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal
 once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily
 tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood
 together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the
 usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she
 goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge
 of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind,
 as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the
 matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs,
 and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the
 girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike
 the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own,
 puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home.
 After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she
 likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as
 I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a
 widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "I Gāra
 dama gōure ṭhaba ṭhabare" * (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as
 the ṭhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will
 be the older women who have looked after her who will free
 her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some
 disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the
 procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When
 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a
 neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her
 friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I
 do not know for certain: it may have been heart failure, as it
 was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The
 woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing
 in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances
 I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* Ṭhabas is *Pochon damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 95 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. Ṭhaba Ṭhaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

white people and who told me that they were now sickly, and never got any children, because they had been made to work with cold water, when they should not have done so.

The sea as the greatest accumulation of cold water is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. I was given a very graphic description of a tragedy that occurred not so very long ago. Three young girls were walking along the beach at Swakopmund very happily and merrily, when all of a sudden the sea became angry and seemed to be on top of them. Two of the girls calling out, "Who here has her period?" rushed up the beach in safety, the third just had time to shout out, "I have," when she was dragged under by the waves and drowned! The woman who told me this lives inland from Walvis Bay. The other woman who had been with her was afterwards my cook far north in Franzfontein, and she confirmed the story of the drowning. In these degenerate days, the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, only they must not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be 'Khái 'na, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things, and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she kharú. If she is 'Khái 'na, the sea will rush out towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food, or the milk she had milked. For there is this great difference between most things a woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water. Cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, be she 'khái 'na or not, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them 'nôu, taboo. Thus, if a girl should kharú cut in the veld when she and her companions are gathering roots and berries, her companions contrive turn by turn to carry her back to the kraal, for if she walks among the bushes she will scorch them, the succulent roots will shrivel up, and the leaves wither from the bushes. If she milks a cow, its milk will turn to blood. (I am told that a cow does sometimes give a reddish fluid instead of milk.) If she cooks a meal those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Always after a girl has been reintroduced to the water, she and the old woman take a branch which they dip into a bucket of water and scatter it over the whole kraal, bushes, pens, sheep, goats and cattle.

We have dealt now with the cases in which water is a protection against dangers, and with those in which water itself is dangerous. There are just two other little rites connected with water which seem to me a little different.

Both in Walvis Bay and in Franzfontein I was told that babies are taken out into the first rainstorm which occurs after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, that is, after

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823 the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken
852 out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grand-
mother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it.
I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different
account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has
been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the
rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then
lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, "Hei-a
Hei-a Tú gaba tai" (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said
the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is
the baby's introduction to the source of water.

823 Of another type of case I have never been able to get infor-
881 mation myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus
Hahn writes: "The girl or girls who have become of age must,
after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they
must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes
[842] the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and
have a large offspring." He continues: "I have on three
occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the
roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared
to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the
!Gami /Num; among the gei /Khaus at //Nuis, and among the
//Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not
know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method
of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional.
I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls
would be prevented from using water over too long periods in
many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the
same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full
members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to
attain the full life of their new status.

823 Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I
182 have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an
harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials
of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to
provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social
possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially pro-
tective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course,
but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society,
or to the members of the society themselves when the social
bonds are loosened.

* Tsuni //Gom, p. 87.

and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabitants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western Cape Colony. 776

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed his people. He was very clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst the Bundle-Zwart, or !Gami+nus, I heard the following story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied, among the !Habobes, !Kharagei-khois, and !O-geis. [22] [342] [764]

*Heitsi-eibib's battles with ‡Gama-‡gorib !Hañ-lgai-lgaib,
‡Amal and the Lion.*

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ‡Gama-‡gorib, 773
!Hañ-lgai-lgaib and the Lion lived on the other side, on three roads, in the middle (between him and his people). There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a rumour why they did not come. He then started to look after them, and came first to the place of ‡Gama-‡gorib. But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another). ‡Gama-‡gorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to ‡Gama-‡gorib: "I have come to look after my people." But on the place of ‡Gama-‡gorib there was a hole, and

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house³⁴⁴ with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches³⁷² are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die.

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle²²⁴ a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful.⁷⁷⁷

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station,²²⁴ Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:—
"They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success.

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great⁸²³ Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives⁸²⁵ a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the *ǃGabeḥ*, "the one which lives in a hole."

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season⁸²⁵ snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year: .

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; and an immense snake is occasionally seen, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

The colour red, java, also takes its origin from *jav*, to bleed; hence java or java, blood-like, blood-coloured—i.e., red.

And at last, *to milk* is also *jav*—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—viz., the milk.

To return now once more to *javb*, snake, and *javu*, fountain, we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying *he* or *she flows* or streams—viz., the water, which in Khoikhoi can be either masculine ||gami, or feminine ||gams, according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words become appellatives, meaning the flow-er. And as these words came from the same root, *jav*, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herba, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of *javb* and *javu*, and made sure that in every fountain lived a snake.

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo-European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "*a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon.*" All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernaic Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:—

ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλὶ ῥόος, ἵνδ' ἀράκων
κτείν' ἀναξ Διὸς υἱός, ἀπὸ κρατερῶιο βιοῖο.

At the fountain of Ares watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Mullenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once